/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
482 burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
064 hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/36 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are twot in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/; [192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth, • [824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven [178] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle- [824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields 178 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction. [177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/38 cont./

342 345 [123] [552] house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 [184] Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/, of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoí), which rests on small beams made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

[192] [824] [317] [192] [824] [184] [413]

178 179 439 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/37 cont./

352 [177] [513] [192] In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed, which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire. The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 [412] [824] [192] For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions, has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly, the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on

574 [352] [192] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood, sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 [296] One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/ hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling; only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-

353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá • 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva): the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 282 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

2: Schaden--52 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] [273] [433] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] [437] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. [773] There inheres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] [114] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/48 cont./

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• 824 reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avatí mñtĩ, sometimes avatí karapé, sometimes avatí mirĩ. Since in the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison with those of the hard maize, the designation avatí pukú is also used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating the color: morõtĩ (white), djú (yellow) or pỹtã (red), or pará (spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological interest is the avatí djakairá morõtĩ or avatí pukú morõtĩ, with a high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha. The Kayová in particular refer /Ills. I-V appear here/ /49/ to it with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear in just any ground": it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to "bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very delicate," says another: "one plants the clearing and then does not cross any more: and it is necesary to baptize the land." In reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the Kayová, more importance is given to the avatí djakairá morõtĩ.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At
[114] the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of
[115] Ñandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject. It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avatí pukú, morõtĩ and pỹtã, the white and the red. The ancients said that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would not degenerate and would always give full-kerneled ears. The red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from the white one; it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crusts of sugar in the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight: the ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

/49 cont./

243 824 [193] too. The red maize avatí pukú pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. Djakaíra was a Kayová Indian who received the white sabaré maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagros," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 824 12

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamin [115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle [192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases before the clearing is burned (djadjapó ndi roñangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñandeyaá kyrygué, let us go to baptise the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hff a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandí avatí rfi arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "our

2: Schaden--57 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/50 cont./

243 796 824 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú fiandé avatí mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú fiandé avatí fiahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá fiandé avatí djýguí); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahêi kĩvira angáre).

241 791 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 262 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary importance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as [177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca [171] always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Nandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers")
[101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ gúi (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.
• 324 Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi,
• [824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguê; furthermore, kỹ ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information
[415] of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions that the Caingná (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbüá is the pipe, pẽtỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbüá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pẽtỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those wi' paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

216 Among the Mbüá almost everybody smokes, including very
184 young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "txedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

249 /53/ Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová 386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on 822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, [178] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the [302] pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his 386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient: the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un- [184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which 222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the [221] guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked [179] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, [43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/85 cont./

844 [828] The most common of the crisis situations is the one that stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 [184] /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me [828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avykỹ-á.

844 [593] [606] [602] The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother; lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group. The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestiso midwife from nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of [824] a splinter of takuãtĩ or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are [752] [184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

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considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

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881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes
[751] her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have
[824] headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go
[191] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Bra-
[352] zilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coré/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 507 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the fiemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the fianderú or paí.

881 782 304 624 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the fianderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5);

[301] [824] [314]

> 5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

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the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

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the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

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One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of these being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the ñanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

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822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

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[192] Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual.
[191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man
774 the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting
• 824 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica-
156 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part
774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what
[828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable
[825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

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534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 [322] [824] The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimby, a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

[782] [789] In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

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534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
• [824] yvyrá rãkuĩ ʃ, with a string of pindó ryvʃ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ʃ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ʃ djéretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[016] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ʃ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
533 miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
177 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
182 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

2: Schaden--200 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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825 787 793 the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

789 177 A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. 789 177 824 Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarakâ*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapûi* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarakâ* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *paʾí*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *paʾí*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *paʾí* was judged and rated as a *paʾí guasú* ("great shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *paʾí* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could often seriously oppose the word of a *paʾí guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *paʾí* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *paʾí* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *paʾí* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *paʾí* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *paʾí* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *paʾí* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapúi*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85).

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases.

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaraká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance.

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men.

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[124] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
• 824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú'*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
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[124] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

/38 cont./
son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the restriction had not been observed. For this reason the man may ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent before his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/ place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society. It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingud*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

Farming.—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricultural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingud* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingud* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamnidium* sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pai* and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for their arrow shafts. The *Caingud* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

Gathering wild foods.—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

The modern *Caingud* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a bakrawt. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (pirarai).

263 *Caingué* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes
•824 of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one
[412] end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through
[415] beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay
[171] is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have
[145] no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 A typical *Guarani* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular
178 houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square
[361] plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched
[824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti-
[712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of mounds, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pai'*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden
[413] needles. Of all the modern *Guarani* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 30 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

254 **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock
[178] is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-
[332] legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal
[353] shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves
[237] suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guarani* went entirely naked, although in cer-
178 tain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress
199 (the tipoy), a sackike garment covering the body from the breasts to
799 the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary
184 influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrúa* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinambá*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatín* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today women have either one or three.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 [171] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 [285] **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* tarrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark [177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin [178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 854 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [824] [531] **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuaremblo strands. They are ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 [534] **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 [533] [531] [536] [524] [118] [117] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

323 178 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, crazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingud*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("trumpeters" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingud* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 524 **Weapons.**—*Caingud* bows are made of palm wood, guayubira (*Patagonula americana*), or ibvira payé, ibvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron sp.*)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuti reed (*Merostachys argyreaema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sergeant, and

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Alvarez, 1943, p. 60.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 (648) Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. 226 178 The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two (224 241) alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a roça since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[16] No reason could be given by informants

(648) this reason have been diverted from their preferred courses, to the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the stream.

• (827) [16] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or lush water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
169 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
169 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit: palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one:
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base: they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824
[139]

1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

1:Dobrizhofer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon

Guarani SM4

CHAPTER XXX.

OF REMEDIES FOR THE POISONOUS BITES OF INSECTS.

OLD books suggest various methods of keeping away serpents: but who that is acquainted with America would not despise the prescriptions of the old writers, adapted to fill pages only, not to be of any real use? In preference to these ancient recipes I recommend the American ones, both because they are more expeditious and readier, and because their utility has been proved by long experience. The Christian Guaranie, whenever they accompanied me to seek the savages in the woods, carried fresh garlick in their girdles, and, notwithstanding the abundance of serpents we met, not one of my companions was ever bitten by one. Following the example of the Indians, I always kept a string of garlick suspended near my bed, after being attacked by a serpent in my sleep. That serpents dislike the smell of garlick is well known both to the ancients and to country people, who rub the milk-pans with the juice of that herb, lest serpents, who are extremely fond of milk, should get into them. My faith, however, in the efficacy of garlick was not a little